

caught in a chain and that to the chain was attached a chest containing *āshrafis* and uncoined gold, which he took straight to his master. The Brahman was so pleased with Ḥasan's honesty that he brought him to the notice of the prince, Muḥammad-bin Tughlaq, by whose influence he obtained an appointment in the imperial service. Shortly after this the Brahman informed Ḥasan that he had cast his horoscope, and foretold that he would rise to the highest dignity. He asked him to promise that he would, when this prophecy should be fulfilled, take the name of his original benefactor as part of his title, and Ḥasan made the required promise and, when the time came, fulfilled it by styling himself, as king, "Ḥasan Kānkū-i-Bahmanī." In corroboration of this story Firishṭa records (i. 527) that Ḥasan, after being proclaimed king of the Dakan, made Kānkū the Brahman the controller of the finances of his kingdom, and that he was the first Muḥammadan ruler to employ a Brahman in so high a post.

The only authority which we have for this story is that of Firishṭa, for *Khāfi Khān*, being admittedly little more than a copyist so far as the affairs of the Dakan are concerned, cannot be accounted an authority. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, and the *Tazkiratu-l-Mulūk* relate other legends, all more or less improbable, but do not commit themselves to Firishṭa's account of Ḥasan's servitude in the house of a Hindu. The predictions of his greatness are attributed variously to one Gangū, a Brahman, not said to be his master, *Shaikh* Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliyā of Dihlī, and *Shaikh* Muḥammad Sirāj-i-Junaidī, in whose service he is said to have held some post.

The titles of Ḥasan, as king of the Dakan, are variously given by historians as follows:—In Firishṭa's history (i. 525), '*Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥasan Kānkū-i-Bahmanī*, by *Khāfi Khān* in the third volume of the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb*, '*Alā'u-d-dīn Kānkū-i-Bahmanī*, curf Ḥasan, by Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, '*Ala'u-d-dīn Ḥasan Shāh*, by 'Alī-bin 'Azāzi-'llāh Ṭabaṭabā in the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, '*Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥasan Shāh Gangū-i-Bahmanī*, and '*Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥasan Shāh al Valī-ul-Bahmanī*, by the author of the *Tazkiratu-l-Mulūk*, '*Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh*, and by Badāonī in the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh* (i. 231) "the *Sulṭān* who is known as Ḥasan Kānkū and at last obtained the Kingdom of the Dakan under the title of '*Ala'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh*."

The title given by Badāonī and the author of the *Tazkiratu-l-Mulūk* is correct. Ḥasan did not add to his title the epithet *Bahmanī*, but assumed the name of Bahman. There is in the fort of Gulbarga a contemporary inscription, bearing the date A.H. 754 (A.D. 1353) in which his titles are given as "'Alā'u-d-dunyā wa'd-dīn Abū-'l-Muzaffar Bahman Shāh." The names Ḥasan and Kānkū, or Gangū, and the

epithet Bahmanī, which is used on the coins of his successors and is correctly applied to them only, are omitted. The inscription, which was cut while Bahman Shāh was still alive and reigning, and was placed over a mosque in his capital, is far better evidence of the style under which he reigned than any statements of historians. Other evidence, however, exists. I have a copper coin which bears the inscription “Aḥmad Shāh bin Aḥmad Shāh bin Bahman Shāh.” This inscription needs some explanation—a question which will be considered hereafter—but there is no doubt that the words “Bahman Shāh” refer to the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty. There is also the *Bahman-nāma*, a versified history of the Bahmanī kings, the authorship of which is uncertain, but which is often quoted by Firishta. The title of this history cannot refer to the epithet *Bahmanī*, but can and evidently does refer to the name *Bahman*.

The question of the title under which the founder of the Bahman dynasty assumed the sovereignty of the Dakan is important as an indication of the derivation of the name by which that dynasty is known. It is conceivable that a Muḥammadan king might have distinguished himself, from gratitude to a Brahman benefactor, by the epithet *Bahmanī*, even though that epithet is never found in its uncorrupted form *Brahmanī*, but no Muḥammadan king would have styled himself “King Brahman.” The derivation of the title *Bahman Shāh* must, therefore, be sought in Ḥasan’s claim to descend from the Sāsānidise. His pedigree, as given by Firishta, is as follows:—‘Alā’u-d-dīn Ḥasan, the son of Kaikāūs, the son of Muḥammad, the son of ‘Alī, the son of Ḥasan, the son of Sahām, the son of Sīmūn, the son of Salām, the son of Ibrāhīm, the son of Naṣīr, the son of Munṣūr, the son of Rustam, the son of Kaiqubād, the son of Mīnūchīhr, the son of Nāmdār, the son of Isfandiyār, the son of Kaiyūmars, the son of Khurshīd, the son of Ṣa’ṣā, the son of Faghfūr, the son of Farrukh, the son of Shahryār, the son of Amīr, the son of Suhaid, the son of Malik Dā’ūd, the son of Hūshang, the son of Nik Kardār, the son of Fīrūz Bakht, the son of Nūḥ, the son of Ṣāni’, who was descended from Bahrām-i-gūr the Sāmānī, who was descended from Bahman the son of Isfandiyār. This pedigree is varied as follows by the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma’āṣir*:—‘Alā’u-d-dunyā wa-’d-dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, son of Kaikāūs Muḥammad, son of ‘Alī, son of Ḥasan, son of Bahtām, son of Sīmūn, son of Salām, son of Nūḥ, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Naṣīr, son of Manṣūr, son of Nūḥ, son of Ṣāni’, son of Bahrām, son of Shāhrīn, son of Sād, son of Nūsīn, son of Dāvād, son of Bahrām-i-gūr. Both historians express some doubts as to the authenticity of the pedigrees which they give, and there can be little doubt that both pedigrees are fictitious.

We are not concerned, however, with the genuineness of Ḥasan's claim, for this is a question which cannot now be decided. It is certain that he put forward the claim and that his title "Bahman Shāh" was an embodiment of its assertion. The author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* says (King, p. 1) "in consequence of his descent the king was known as Bahman," and subsequently (King, p. 17) refers to him as "the cream of the race of Bahman."

I believe that I have shewn that the epithet "Bahmanī" applied to the great dynasty of the Dakan has no connection with the caste-name "Brahman," but is derived from the old Persian name Bahmani which was borne, as a title, by the founder of the dynasty.

(2) THE OFFSPRING OF 'ALĀ'U-D-DĪN BAHMAN SHĀH.

According to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*¹ Bahman Shāh had four sons of whom three, Muḥammad the eldest, Maḥmūd² and Aḥmad³ are named. Firishṭa does not give the number of the sons, but names three, Muḥammad⁴ the eldest, Dā'ūd,⁵ who afterwards ascended the throne as the fourth king of the line, and Maḥmūd⁶ the youngest. Khāfi Khān, in the third volume of the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb*, says that Bahman Shāh had four sons, but he mentions three only. Muḥammad the eldest, Maḥmūd and Dā'ūd. No list of Bahman Shāh's sons is given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, and Muḥammad is mentioned as his son, without being distinguished as the eldest.⁷ Elsewhere,⁸ however, Muḥammad Shāh, the fifth king of the dynasty is referred to as "the son of Maḥmūd, the son of Ḥasan Shāh" (*sub.* Bahman Shāh). It is clear, from the general consensus of authorities, that Muḥammad, Bahman Shāh's successor, was his eldest son, and it is also clear that Bahman Shāh had a son named Maḥmūd. The statements of the authors of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* and the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb* as to the number of his sons may be accepted as correct, in spite of the fact that no one authority names more than three sons. We have, therefore, two sons to account for, *viz.*, Aḥmad, mentioned by the authors of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, the *Tazkiratu-l-Mulūk*,⁹ and Dā'ūd, mentioned by Firishṭa and Khāfi Khān. There seems to be little doubt that Bahman Shāh had a son named Aḥmad, but this question will be considered in connection with that of the parentage of the eighth and ninth *Sultāns* of the dynasty. I cannot, however, find any sufficient reason for believing that Aḥmad was the youngest son, as stated by

¹ King, p. 22.

² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁴ Firishṭa, i. 527.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 533, 573.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 533.

⁷ King, p. 408.

⁸ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 410.

⁹ King, p. 47.

Major King in the genealogical table given by him on p. xxxiv of his book. The author whom he translates nowhere says that Aḥmad was the youngest son, and Firishṭa, who, although not entirely trustworthy in questions of genealogy, should be followed when he cannot be proved to be wrong, distinctly says that Maḥmūd was the youngest. So far, therefore, we have Muḥammad the eldest, and Maḥmūd the youngest, with Aḥmad somewhere between them.

Authorities differ as to the parentage of Dā'ūd. Both Firishṭa and Khāfi Khān make him a son of Bahman Shāh, the only difference between them being that the former places the sons in the order—(1) Muḥammad, (2) Dā'ūd, (3) Maḥmūd; while the latter places Muḥmūd before Dā'ūd, without saying, however, that Maḥmūd was the elder. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*¹ Dā'ūd is described as the first cousin of Mujāhid Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh I, according to which statement he would be a grandson and not a son of Bahman Shāh. The author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* says in one place² that Dā'ūd was “a younger brother, or according to one history, a cousin of Mujāhid,” but afterwards³ says, “according to the most authentic accounts, Sultān Dā'ūd Shāh was son of Maḥmūd Khān, son of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥasan Shāh Bahmanī (*sul.* Bahman Shāh). Although Firishṭa is generally an untrustworthy genealogist his account of Dā'ūd's parentage must be preferred to that of other authorities. It is possible that the word ابن (“son”) in Nizāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad's description of him as the first cousin (ابن عم) of Mujāhid is an interpolation. The statement in the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* that Dā'ūd was the son of Maḥmūd Khān, the son of Bāhman Shāh, cannot be accepted. Firishṭa, who is not contradicted on this point, makes Maḥmūd, as has been said, the youngest son of Bahman Shāh. He says that at the time of Bahman Shāh's death (A.H. 759) Maḥmūd was a schoolboy, reading Sa'di's *Būstān*. He was probably, therefore, thirteen or fourteen years of age at that time, and can hardly have been the father of Dā'ūd, who held an important command in the expedition against the Rāya of Vijayanagar in Mujāhid's reign (A.H. 776–779). For these reasons I am inclined to complete the tale of Bahman Shāh's four sons by adding to them Dā'ūd, and this assumption, supported by Firishṭa's authority, whatever that may be worth, not only fills the gap left by the authors of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, but accounts satisfactorily for Dā'ūd's anger when he was rebuked by Mujāhid for neglect of his military duty. Dā'ūd might have borne a rebuke from a brother or a cousin older than himself who was also his king, but a rebuke

¹ King, p. 410.² King, p. 29.³ King, p. 31.

from a nephew would have been harder to bear, and the assumption that Dā'ūd was Mujāhid's uncle explains his resentment, the result of which was the assassination of Mujāhid and the accession of Dā'ūd. Bahman Shāh's four sons, therefore, were Muḥammad, Dā'ūd, Aḥmad and Maḥmūd. The only question concerning them which cannot be settled is the order in which Dā'ūd and Aḥmad came.

(3) THE OFFSPRING OF MUḤAMMAD I.

Muḥammad was succeeded by his son Mujāhid. Firishta, Nizāmu-d-din Aḥmad, and Khāfi Khān mention no other son, but the author of the *Burhān-i-Maṣir*¹ says that Muḥammad had a younger son, Fath Khān. The statement may be accepted as correct, but Fath Khān is not again heard of, and is therefore unimportant. Mujāhid was assassinated after a reign of little more than a year, and his uncle and successor, Dā'ūd, was assassinated after a reign of little more than a month. The former left no issue. Dā'ūd, according to Firishta, left a son, Muḥammad Sanjar, who was blinded.

(4) NĀSIRU-D-DIN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH II.

Muḥammad Shāh II is described both by Nizāmu-d-din Aḥmad and by the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* as the son of Maḥmūd Khān, the son of 'Alā'u-d-din Bahman Shāh. The latter authority also describes him, consistently but wrongly, as the younger brother of Da'ūd. Firishta, followed, of course, by Khāfi Khān, falls into a strange error regarding the name and the identity of this king, and asserts that his name was Maḥmūd and not Muḥammad and that he was the son of Alā'u-d-din Bahman Shāh. He is very positive on this point, as the following extract² will show:—

“The author of the *Futūḥu-s-Salātīn* has made a mistake regarding the name of this king, saying that his name was Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, and mentioning him as Muḥammad Shāh in all his poems; and likewise some of the historians of Gujarāt and Dihlī, both ancient and modern, not having inquired into events in the Dakan as they actually came to pass, have made mistakes both in the names of the Bahmanī kings and in many of the stories which they relate concerning them, and all of them have wielded untrustworthy pens and have failed to verify their information.”

Firishta, in spite of his assurance, was unquestionably wrong. In the first place he stands alone, his copyist Khāfi Khān excepted, in describing the fifth Bahmanī King as Maḥmūd. All other authorities

¹ King, p. 28.

² Firishta, i. 576.

call him Muḥammad. In the second place he is contradicted by an inscription, dated A.H. 892, on the *Muḥammadī* gate of the fortress of Narnāla in Berar, in which *Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh*, the fourteenth king of the Bahmanī dynasty is described as “the son of Sultān Muḥammad, the son of Sultān Humāyūn, the son of Sultān Aḥmad, the son of Sultān Muḥammad.” The inscription is not necessarily a better authority than *Firishta*, and the account of *Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd’s* descent which it gives is unquestionably wrong, but the Sultān Muḥammad to whom the descent is traced was evidently the fifth king of the Bahmanī dynasty, so that in this respect the inscription corroborates the mass of evidence against *Firishta*. Finally we have the evidence of the coins. All the known coins of the fifth king of the Bahmanī dynasty bear the name Muḥammad. None bears the name Maḥmūd. This fact alone is sufficient to decide the question. Even *Firishta* would have hesitated to assert that the officials of the mint did not know the name of the king whom they served.

It is, however, worth while to consider a possible source of *Firishta’s* error. He may have seen this Sultān mentioned in some inscription, *sanad*, or other authentic document by his name *Nāṣiru-d-dīn* followed by his father’s name, thus:—*Nāṣiru-d-dīn-i-Maḥmūd*, the *izāfat*, which would be omitted in Persian script, denoting the patronymic. Similar errors in nomenclature have occurred. Thus, the Arab conqueror of Sindh, *Muḥammad-i-Qāsim* or *Muḥammad bin Qāsim*, has been styled by historians who should have known better, “*Muḥammad Qāsim*,” as though *Qāsim* were his own name instead of being his father’s.

(5) THE OFFSPRING OF MUḤAMMAD II.

The fifth king had two sons. Sultān *Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Muḥammad*, or Bahman¹ and Sultān *Shamsu-d-dīn Dā’ūd*. The former succeeded him at the age of 17, according to *Firishta*,² or 12 according to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma’āṣir*,³ and was deposed and blinded after a reign of little more than a month. His younger brother *Shamsu-d-dīn* was then placed on the throne, at the age of 15, according to *Firishta*,⁴ or 6, according to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma’āṣir*.⁵ His reign lasted, according to *Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad*⁶ and *Firishta*⁷ fifty-seven days, and according to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma’āṣir*⁸ five months and seven days. The discrepancy may be due to a misreading.

¹ King, p. 34.

² *Firishta*, i. 581.

³ King, p. 34.

⁴ *Firishta*, i. 583.

⁵ King, p. 35.

⁶ *Tabaqūt-i-Akbari*, 411.

⁷ *Firishta*, i. 586.

⁸ King, p. 36.

(6) THE PARENTAGE OF FIRŪZ SHĀH AND AḤMAD SHĀH, THE EIGHTH AND NINTH KINGS.

Firishta says¹ that Maḥmūd Shāh (Dā'ūd is evidently meant) had three sons: (1) Muḥammad Sanjar, who was blinded; (2) Firūz Khan; and (3) Aḥmad Khān; and that the uncle of these boys, Muḥammad Shāh II (whom Firishta calls Maḥmūd) before he had sons of his own, brought up Firūz and Aḥmad as his sons, married them to two of his daughters, and led Firūz to believe that he would be his heir, but that after the birth of his own sons he made Firūz and Aḥmad swear allegiance to Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn. This plausible story accounts for Firūz Khān's ambition, but for various reasons it cannot be accepted as true. In the first place the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, who is a better authority than Firishta in genealogical questions, makes² Firūz and Aḥmad the sons of Aḥmad Khān, the son of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh, and he is supported³ by the author of the *Tazkiratu-l-Mulūk*. Firishta does not explain why the two younger sons of Dā'ūd should have been brought up as princes in the line of succession to the throne when it was found necessary to blind their eldest brother, Muḥammad Sanjar. There is good evidence, of a negative nature, in favour of the statements of the authors of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* and the *Tazkiratū-l-Mulūk*. Among Oriental rulers the pride of descent is more exacting than it is in the West, and descent from those who are merely members of a royal house is less highly regarded than a descent which can be traced through an unbroken line of actual wearers of the crown. This pride finds its expression in the common formula *السلطان ابن السلطان* and, when a king can establish such a line of descent, he rarely fails to mention his father's name on his coins and in his inscriptions. So far as I know, neither Firūz Shāh nor Aḥmad Shāh ever mentions his father's name in such inscriptions. Aḥmad Shāh's name appears in the inscriptions in his fine tomb at Bidar, but his father's does not. If the brothers had been sons of Dā'ūd, a king who actually reigned, they would certainly have mentioned the fact, either on their coins or in their inscriptions. As they have not done so it may be safely held, with the authors of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* and the *Tazkiratū-s-Salāṭīn*, that Firūz and Aḥmad were the sons of Aḥmad Khān, the son of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh.

I have referred above to an exceptional coin. This is the coin which I have already mentioned in the account of the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty. The reverse bears the inscription, "Aḥmad Shāh bin Aḥmad Shāh bin Bahman Shāh," but no date. I was inclined to

¹ Firishta, i. 583.² King, pp. 36, 49.³ King, p. 47.

assign this coin to Aḥmad I, the younger brother of Fīrūz, and to assume that he had bestowed upon his father, Aḥmad Khān, the honorary title of "Shāh," but Maulavī Muḥammad 'Azīz Mīrzā, B.A., First Talukdar of Bīd in the Haidarābād State, has pointed out to me that the *kunya* on the obverse of the coin does not coincide with that on coins which can be assigned with certainty to Aḥmad Shāh I, and he is of opinion that the coin must be assigned to 'Alā'u-d-dīn Aḥmad Shāh II, the son and successor of Aḥmad I. His ascription of the coin is undoubtedly correct but an explanation of the line of descent as given on the reverse is necessary, for there is no reason or authority for believing that Aḥmad I (and consequently Fīrūz) was the son of Bahman Shāh the founder of the dynasty. We must therefore explain the inscription on the reverse, in view of the very strong reasons for believing that Fīrūz and Aḥmad I were the sons of Aḥmad Khān, by assuming that Aḥmad II traced his descent *per saltum* through Aḥmad I to Bahman Shāh.

Two errors concerning the descent of Aḥmad Shāh I call for notice here. The first is a mistake made by Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad in the heading¹ of his account of Aḥmad Shāh's reign, in which Aḥmad is described as the son of Fīrūz. This is merely a slip, for the same author elsewhere² mentions Ḥasan Khān as the eldest son of Fīrūz, and says that Fīrūz, when delivering the kingdom to Aḥmad, commended his *sons* to his protection. The other error is contained in the Narnāla inscription which makes Aḥmad (and consequently Fīrūz) the son of Muḥammad Shāh, evidently the fifth king of the dynasty. It has already been shown that Fīrūz and Aḥmad were not the sons of Muḥammad II, and the inscription is, independently of this inaccuracy, of very little value, for it omits altogether from the descent given, the name of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Aḥmad II.

There appears to be little if any doubt that Fīrūz Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh, the eighth and ninth kings of the Bahmanī dynasty, were the sons of Aḥmad Khān, son of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh, the founder of the dynasty.

(7) THE OFFSPRING OF FĪRŪZ SHĀH.

According to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* Fīrūz, who was deposed by his younger brother Aḥmad in A.H. 825, left several sons, for he speaks³ of "Ḥasan Khān and all the other sons of the late king." In another passage⁴ he mentions Makhdūma-i-Jahān, the wife

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 414.

³ King, p. 47.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 413.

⁴ King, p. 89.

of Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī, as the daughter of Mubārak Khān, son of Sultān Firūz Shāh. Firishṭa¹ and Khāfi Khān mention this princess and describe her as a wise woman, but do not give her descent. Neither author mentions any sons of Firūz except Ḥasan Khān. Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad says² that Firūz commended his “sons” to Aḥmad’s protection. We may conclude that Firūz had several sons, of whom the eldest was Ḥasan Khān, Mubārak being one of the younger sons. Ḥasan Khān was designated heir-apparent during his father’s life-time, and married the beautiful daughter of the Sonār of Mudgal. He seems to have been an unambitious and pleasure-loving youth who readily acquiesced in his uncle’s elevation to the throne.

(8) OFFSPRING OF AḤMAD SHAH VALĪ.

The author of the *Burhān-i-Ma’āṣir* says³ that Aḥmad Shāh had seven sons, and gives the titles of four—(1) Zafar Khān Khān-i-Khānān, (2) Maḥmūd Khān, (3) Muḥammad Khān, and (4) Dā’ūd Khān. Maḥmūd is described as the fourth son. Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad⁴ mentions Zafar Khān by his name, ‘Alā’u-d-dīn, and also mentions Muḥammad, Maḥmūd, and Dā’ūd. Muḥammad was entrusted to the care of his eldest brother ‘Alā’u-d-dīn, while the other sons were placed in charge of provinces. This bears out Firishṭa’s statement⁵ that Muḥammad was the youngest of the sons and ‘Alā’u-d-dīn the eldest. Firishṭa also mentions Maḥmūd and Dā’ūd. Aḥmad Shāh Valī had at least two daughters, for one of his daughters married Shāh Ḥabību’llāh, and another married Jalāl Khān and was the mother of Sikandar Khān, whom his father tried to raise to the throne.

(9) OFFSPRING OF ZAFAR KHĀN, ‘ALĀ’U-D-DĪN AḤMAD II.

‘Alā’u-d-dīn Aḥmad had three sons: Humāyūn Shāh Zālim (“the tyrant”), who succeeded him, and Ḥasan Khān, and Yaḥyā Khān, both of whom were put to death by their brother.⁶ He also had more than one daughter, for his eldest daughter⁷ married Shāh Muḥabbu’llāh, brother of the Shāh Ḥabību’llāh already mentioned.

¹ Firishṭa, i. 663.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 414.

³ King, p. 50.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 416.

⁵ Firishṭa, i. 630.

⁶ Firishṭa, i. 659, 661. King, pp. 81, 85, 87. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, pp. 424, 425.

⁷ King, p. 74.

(10) OFFSPRING OF HUMĀYUN SHĀH ZĀLIM.

Humāyūn Shāh married the daughter of Mubāarak Khān, a younger son of the eighth king, Firūz, and by this princess, who received the title of Makhdūma-i-Jahān, invariably bestowed upon the principal wife of a Bahmanī king, had three sons—(1) Nizām Shāh, who succeeded him, (2) Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad, who succeeded his brother Nizām Shāh, and (3) Jamshīd¹ called by Firishta² Aḥmad.

(II) OFFSPRING OF SHAMSU-D-DĪN MUḤAMMAD LASHKARĪ.

Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad had, so far as is known, only one son, who is styled by the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āşir*³ Aḥmad, and who succeeded his father under the title of Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd. No other writer styles this prince Aḥmad, and the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āşir* does not explain why he should have changed his name on succeeding to the throne.

(12) OFFSPRING OF SHAHĀBU-D-DĪN MAḤMŪD SHĀH.

Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd had three⁴ sons—(1) Aḥmad, (2) 'Alā'u-d-dīn, and (3) Valī'u-'llāh, all of whom were in succession raised to the throne as nominal sovereigns by Amīr Barīd. Firishta, in the heading of the chapter⁵ devoted to the "reign" of 'Alā'u-d-dīn III, describes him as the son, not the brother, of his predecessor, Aḥmad Shāh; but this is an error, for he says afterwards⁶ that Valī'u-'llāh, whom he describes as the son of Maḥmūd Shāh, followed the example of his "brother" in attempting to free himself from the influence of Amīr Barīd, so that Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad is evidently correct in describing⁷ 'Alā'u-d-dīn III as the son of Maḥmūd Shāh.

Of the three brothers Aḥmad Shāh III died after a reign of little more than two years, not without suspicion of poison; 'Alā'u-d-dīn Shāh III was deposed after a reign which did not extend to two years; and Valī'u-'llāh Shāh was poisoned after a reign of three years.

(13) AḤMAD SHĀH III.

Aḥmad III was, as has been said, the eldest son of Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh. There is a discrepancy as to the date of his birth. Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad⁸ gives the date as Rajab 27, A.H, 899, whereas

¹ King, p. 89.

² Firishta, i. 671.

³ King, p. 116.

⁴ Possibly four, if the last king of the dynasty, Kalīmu-'llāh, be reckoned as one. See the account of Kalīmu-'llāh.

⁵ Firishta, i. 727.

⁶ *Ibid*, 728.

⁷ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 436.

⁸ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 434.

Firishṭa¹ has Rajab 27, A.H. 889. But Firishṭa also says that Aḥmad was born on the day on which Kh'āja Ni'matu-'llāh Tabrīzī, the envoy from the rebel Bahādur Gilānī, arrived at court and discharged the duty entrusted to him. He had no sooner concluded an agreement with Maḥmūd Shāh than Bahādur Gilānī broke it, and was defeated and slain in battle, according to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*² on Ṣafar 5, A.H. 900. Again, according to Firishṭa, Maḥmūd Shāh was only twelve years of age at the time of his accession in A.H. 881, so that it is unlikely that his eldest son was born in A.H. 889; and we know, moreover, that Maḥmūd Shāh was for some time disappointed of male issue, so that it is evident that he was not, at 14 years of age, the father of a son. Firishṭa also says³ that Aḥmad married Bibī Sata, sister of Ismā'il 'Adil Shāh, in A.H. 920, and it is more probable that Aḥmad was 21 than that he was 31 years of age when this marriage was arranged. It appears, therefore, that the date of Aḥmad's birth, as given by Firishṭa, is a copyist's error, and that the correct date is that given by Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad.

(14) KALĪMU-'LLĀH SHĀH.

There is some doubt as to the parentage of Kalīmu-'llāh Shāh. Both Firishṭa and Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad describe him, in the headings of the chapters containing the accounts of his reign, as the son of Maḥmūd. But Firishṭa, in mentioning⁴ his flight to Bijāpūr in A.H. 934, describes Ismā'il 'Adil Shāh as his maternal uncle, and we have seen that Bibī Sata, Ismā'il's sister, was married to Aḥmad, so that it would appear that Kalīmu-'llāh was a son, and not a younger brother, of Aḥmad. The principal difficulty in the way of this explanation is that it makes Kalīmu-'llāh, at the time of his flight to Bijāpūr, by which time he had already caused a letter to be written to Bābar, a boy of 13 years of age at most; but this difficulty disappears if we assume that the appeal to Bābar and the flight to Bijāpūr were managed by those who had the immediate care of the youthful *roi fainéant*. Nevertheless, the question cannot be said to have been satisfactorily decided. I have seen copper coins of Kalīmu-'llāh, and have a specimen, but unfortunately they do not bear his father's name.

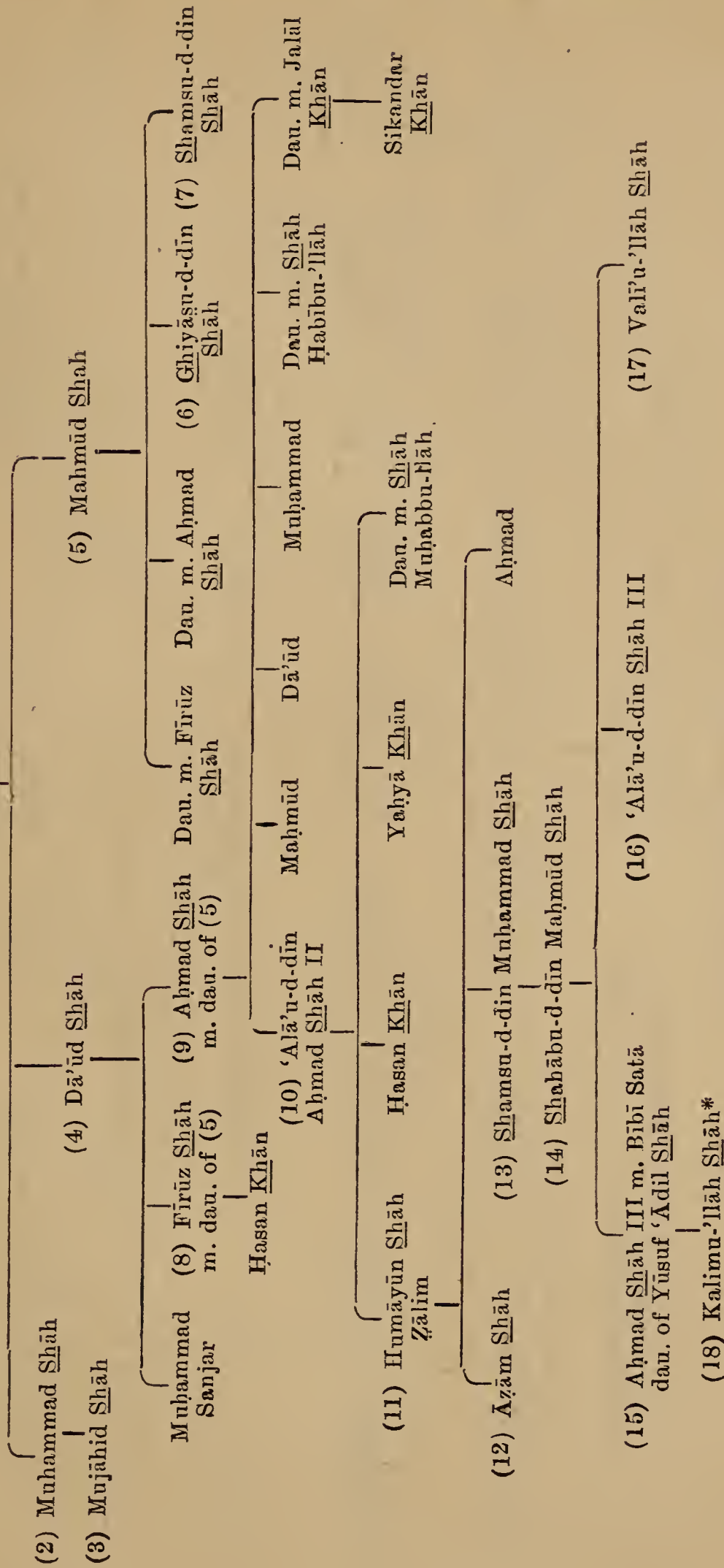
Kalīmu-'llāh died at Aḥmadnagar in A.H. 934 or 935, probably from poison, and with him ended the Bahmanī dynasty.

The three genealogical tables appended give the pedigree of the Bahmanī family—(1) according to Firishṭa, (2) according to the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, and (3) as described in this paper.

¹ Firishṭa, i. 716. ² King, p. 133. ³ Firishṭa, ii. 32. ⁴ Firishṭa, i. 779.

I.—GENEALOGY OF THE BAHMANĪ KINGS ACCORDING TO FIRISHTA.

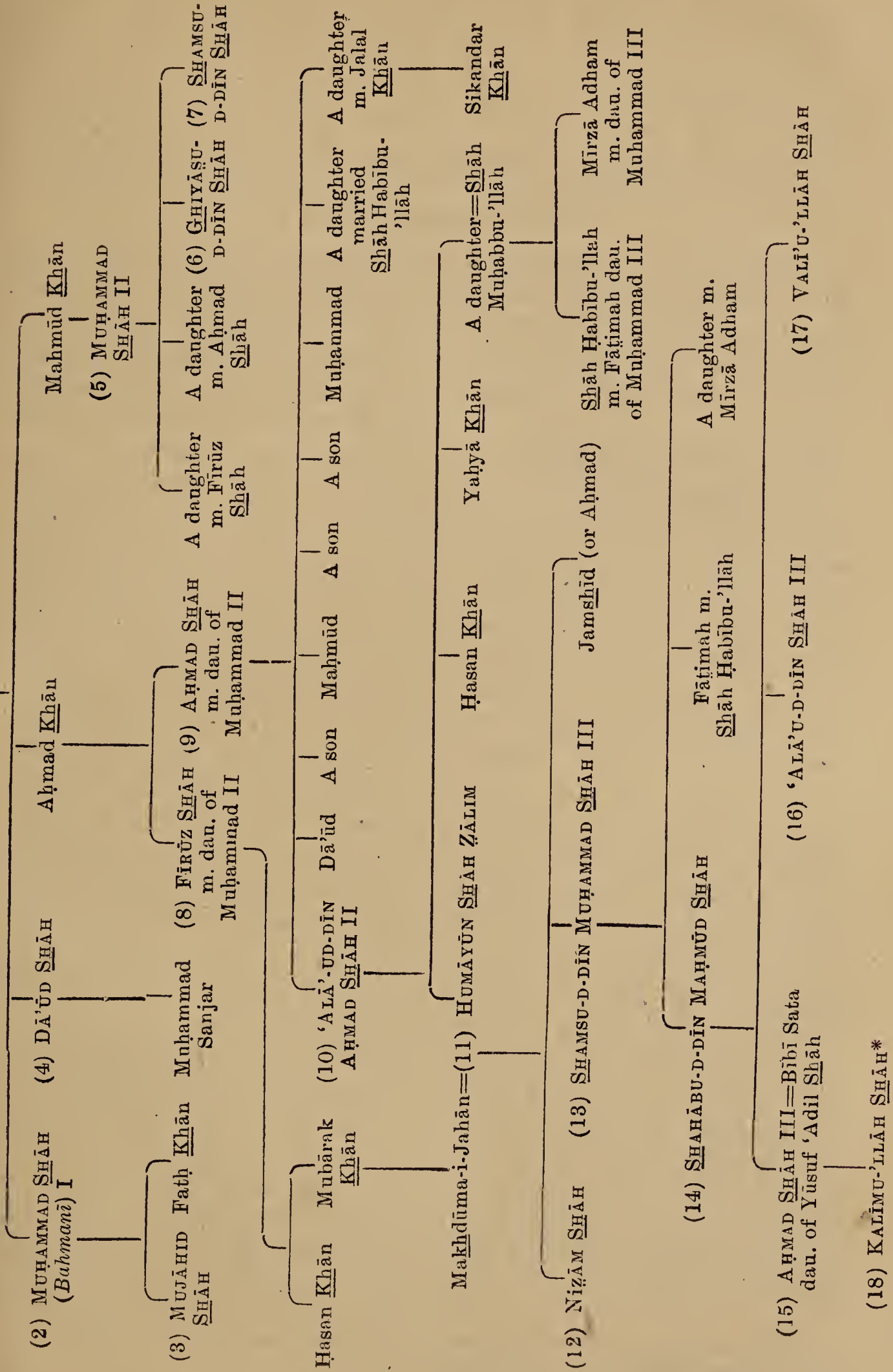
(1) 'Alā'u-d-din Hasan Gāngū Bahmanī.



Note.—The numbers in brackets indicate the order of succession to the throne.

* It is doubtful whether Kalīmu-'llāh was a son or a younger brother of Ahmad III.

(1) ALĀ'U-D-DIN BAHMAN SHĀH



Note.—The numbers in brackets indicate the order of accession to the throne.

* It is not certain whether Kalīmu-'llāh was a son or younger brother of Aḥmad III.